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Medical personnel. Before the Second World War, a communal or cantonal doctor was treating, on the average, 4,500 patients. The percentage of trained physicians was much higher in the cities (three doctors for every 1,000 people), especially in Budapest. This situation has improved little if any since the war. There is also a shortage of trained nurses. Government decrees require communities to employ one licensed midwife for every 900 inhabitants.

The instruction of ~~medical~~ doctors is very good in Hungary. The law of 1938, still enforced, requires health officers in the country to take refresher courses in general medical practice.

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In the villages the local doctor and pharmacist belong to the rural intelligentsia and are highly respected people. However, peasants often hesitate to go to the doctor in many cases of less serious illness, and they use instead popular remedies, such as herbs, potions, compresses, poultices, and the like or else, in scattered areas, rely on outright superstition for healing.

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Sanitation. One of the greatest health problems in the Hungarian villages is that of drinking water. Piped systems are practically non-existent. In many regions, only 100-200 meter wells could

furnish safe drinking water, but the financial situation of most of the communities prohibits such works. 312

Before the war, 73 per cent of the large number of sampled wells furnished water which did not conform to sanitary standards. 744 312 At the same time, a government survey established that 8,200 wells would have to be sunk and 250 piped systems constructed if there was to be at least one entirely safe drinking well per thousand inhabitants, and if every inhabitant was to live within 500 meters of such a well. The war prevented any considerable improvement in this regard, and even according to Communist figures, not more than 2,000 safe wells have been drilled since the war.

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3:Kemeny G-5 (1945-48)195 EC1 Hungary EC1

Plan may have assumed something of that character. But at the start the outlook was different. At any rate, after a period of privation, a serious effort had to be made to raise the standard of living, if only as a means of attaining higher efficiency. Moreover, an austerity programme, concentrating on the extension of heavy industry as its primary objective, did not fit into the political atmosphere of that initial period.

Extension in the whole field of industry strained domestic financial resources to the utmost. The redistribution of incomes and of consumption might to a moderate extent have contributed to the solution of the problem. But the solution had to be found mainly in increase of national income through enlargement of production. This call for higher production of consumer goods as well as of capital goods called in its turn for industrialization, both in the sense of expanding industry and in that of mechanizing agriculture.

By placing industrialization in the centre of economic policy a familiar chord was struck. It was, in fact, an axiom in Hungary in the inter-war period that only industrial expansion could solve the most urgent problem of the country, the employment of the agricultural surplus population. This question became acute after the outlet, which had been open before the First World War by way of mass emigration to the United States, had been blocked. The main conditions for industrial development were present. There was a reserve of working population more than sufficient in numbers and able to adapt themselves to the conditions of industrial work. Skilled labour was in high demand, as shown by a larger margin between the wages of skilled and untrained men than is usually experienced in the Western countries. So long as the progress of industrialization was no more than gradual, this gap could be partly filled by the attraction of foremen from abroad. Nor was technical and managerial skill wanting.

Of natural resources essential for industry a great part had to be imported. Coal deposits, composed largely of brown coal, are moderate compared with those of most of the industrial countries. Water-power potential is small. Ample in supply are bauxite, natural gas, and, in a lesser degree, mineral oil. High-quality coal has had to be imported to meet the requirements of metallurgy, but otherwise coal-mining has supplied industry with the quantity wanted.[1]

[1] Output 1938: roughly 9,000,000 tons; imports: 500,000 tons. Some 10 per cent of the whole output was bituminous coal of the calorific value of 12,000–13,500 British Thermal Units (compared with 14,000–16,000 B.T.U. of British bituminous coal). Otherwise brown coal was mined mostly of a calorific value of 7,000–11,000

8: Schweng S-4,5 (no date) 1951 EC1 Hungary EC1

of the mark set. However, this had been set at only 87 percent of prewar. Thus crops could be 77 percent of prewar, apparently due largely to the poor yield of corn and potatoes. The per unit yield of wheat was exactly as high as planned, 1.3 tons per hectare (prewar average over 1936-40, 1.48 tons per hectare); rye was slightly better than expected, 1.15 tons per hectare, the same as prewar.[17]

185 X 241

Against the poor results in crop farming, the livestock figures as reported are surprisingly good, especially in view of the fact that the plan did not run the full three years but only 29 months. The cattle population is supposed to have reached 2.1 million head which is 26 percent higher than the figure planned for 1950 and 10 percent higher than the prewar figure. The pig population was claimed to have increased two and a half times in the plan period, but no dates were given. Without them the increase is meaningless and no estimate of the actual size is possible because of the large seasonal variation. It was stated that at the same time there had been a 78 percent increase in per capita meat consumption. The number of horses increased more slowly than expected and was 74 percent of prewar, against the expected 78 percent.

185 X 231

Investments in agriculture, both direct and indirect, were budgeted at 2.0 billion forints in three years, 0.58 billion in the first year. In the first year actual investments exceeded the budgeted sum by 18 percent, largely because of the substantial private investments of farmers. Total agricultural investments in 29 months amounted to slightly less than 3.0 billion forints, 50 percent more than budgeted and the volume of investments was claimed to have been 34 percent greater than planned.

185 X 454

The most important result of the investment program was the establishment of 221 tractor stations with 3,800 tractors and a large amount of other agricultural machinery. Altogether some 4,500 tractors were added to the stock of 12,500. Other investments include the increase of the irrigated acreage by 15,000 hectares to a total of 26,000 hectares,[18] the setting up of sixteen stations for plant breeding and seventy-three stations for artificial insemination,[19] the building of 40,000 cubic meters of silos, and the reforestation of 59,000 hectares. As to indirect

[475] [312] [42]

17. For changes in the volume of aggregate output, see Tables IV, Va, and Vb.

18. Mainly for the growing of rice. Rice is now grown on 14,000 hectares, against 5,000 hectares before the war.

19. Sixty-two for horses, ten for cattle, one for sheep.

185 241 231

percent. In the fifteen years of the interwar period (1924-25 to 1938-39) the gross value of agricultural production increased by 35 percent if valued at constant prices.[8]

The increases in average yields per unit of land necessary to achieve the contemplated rise in aggregate output are 13 percent for wheat, 27 percent for rye, 35 percent for corn, 30 percent for potatoes, 40 percent for sugar beets, 27 percent for sunflower seed, etc. As the expected, and even more, the actual yields of 1949 were all below prewar levels, the goals set are not excessive. In fact, with few exceptions, they correspond to, or are even below, the averages of 1936-40.

The yield of permanent pastures will be increased by 10 percent, that of orchards, vineyards and truck farms by 20 percent. The cattle population will be increased to 2.4 million head, the horse population to 750,000, the pig population to 5.6 million, and sheep to 1.6 million. This means reaching the 1942 level of cattle and sheep population. The number of horses and pigs would fall below the prewar level. In increasing livestock, priority will be given to state-owned and collective farms. Besides an increase in numbers, there will have to be an increase in yields. The average milk yield per cow is to be increased by 20 percent and the wool clip per sheep by 13 percent. Due attention is to be given to increasing the acreage under fodder crops to provide for the larger animal population.

185 241 475

The increase in field crops is to be attained by large-scale mechanization resulting in better tillage, and by improved and up-to-date techniques applied in large units. The number of tractors is to be increased from about 17,000 at the end of 1949 to 22,800 in 1954. Of these, 19,500 will be operated by tractor stations, the number of which will be increased to 500. (At the end of 1949, there were 221 stations operating 3,800 tractors.) There is also to be a corresponding increase in other machinery. The use of fertilizers will be increased to 4.5 times the 1949 level.[9]

185 312 242

Irrigated acreage (26,000 hectares in 1949) is to be increased by 68,000 hectares to 94,000 hectares. The irrigation project begun in 1937 will thus be about half completed. Serious effort is to be made to improve acid and alkaline soils, beginning with the improvement of 17,000 hectares of alkaline and 40,000

8. For volume of output see Tables III, IV, Va and Vb in the Appendix.

9. Production of superphosphate and nitrogenous fertilizers in 1949 was 157,000 tons against 80,000 tons in 1938. There may have been some exports, but most of the production was for home consumption.

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

than one story practically does not exist in Hungary outside the towns and, even in the towns, the suburbs usually follow the village pattern. Nearly all of them are white-washed, a plain surface without ornamentation. (The Germans of the Danube valley like a yellow wash, the Slavs draw a band of blue above the earth level, the Rumanians often go in for gay frescoes.) Each of them stands, usually narrow end on to the street, in its own courtyard, with the stables and barns at the back. A verandah runs along the side which faces the yard. The village churches, too, are almost all of a pattern. Except in some of the towns, and in a few sheltered corners near the western frontier, all the older buildings were destroyed in the Turkish wars, and the village church to-day is practically always a plain yellow building of the eighteenth or nineteenth century, varying only in size or in the possession of one or of two bulbous towers.

THE COMMUNAL PASTURE AND POND. Common to almost all Hungary, too, are the grazing-grounds outside each village, with the typical 'Gémkut' or crane-well, standing above the trough at which the cattle are watered. The 'Gémkut' consists of a rough pole, twelve or fifteen feet high, and ending in a fork. In this is balanced another log, with a chain at each end. From one chain hangs a bucket, which is dipped into the well or trough, while the other is used, lever-wise, to raise or lower the bucket. Horses and cattle are driven out in the morning and grazed communally, often by dashing young men, who summon their charges

1 [Hungarian cottages--Analyst]

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

from each courtyard by a great fanfare on peculiar long trumpets of traditional shape. The swine, even more numerous, are usually in charge of an older man, but he, too, has his trumpet and his special call; and horse, cow or pig knows without error not only which tune he must obey in the morning, but also into which courtyard he must turn in the evening as the cavalcade proceeds down the village street, its guardian behind it, in a great cloud of dust. Only the geese, which are entrusted to the charge of little girls (the story of the goose-girl at the well surely originated in Hungary) are not woken by special music, which they supply by their own cackling. The communal pasture outside each village and the huge pond in the middle of it, with its geese and ducks, are common to nearly every Hungarian village throughout the country.

NATURE OF THE SOIL. There is much uniformity, too, in the cultivation. Huge fields of wheat or maize meet the eye everywhere. Nearly all the Hungarian soil is of the same type; a porous loess, which hardens in the higher areas to a dusty limestone, and crumbles in the flats into a loose sand. Through this there run comparatively few rivers, although those few—the Danube, the Tisza and their tributaries—are large and very important for the life of the country. Apart from them, water does not run in small streams, but collects in lakes and ponds, large or small, whence it eventually soaks its way underground to join the rivers. Thus in the plain it is rare to find a spring on or near the surface; on the other hand, almost anywhere

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

312 that a well is sunk, it will find water sooner or later. In a village it is common to find a well in each courtyard, or alternatively, one between every pair of houses, serving two families. This water is, of course, apt to be stagnant, and the supply of pure water to the villages is one of the great health problems of Hungary. Budapest and the other large towns have their own supply. Two of the lakes, both in West Hungary—Lake Fertö, or the Neusiedlersee, now cut in two by the Austrian frontier, and Lake Balaton, are very large; Balaton is, indeed, the largest expanse of water in Central Europe. Both are, however, extremely shallow, and it is possible in some places to wade out in them for a couple of miles. The vegetation varies
131 little. The most familiar trees are the poplar, the scrub-oak, and above all, the acacia, strictly speaking, the false acacia. This tree was first introduced into Hungary a century and a half ago, on account of its property in binding together light, sandy soils, and has now spread all over the country. There are many woods of it, and many village streets are adorned by a double row of these beautiful, feathery trees. In the hills there are beeches, oaks and a few firs, and along the rivers, huge willows, alders and aspens.

101 **GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.** But with all this uniformity, there is still a considerable diversity between the different geographical areas of Hungary. The ancient Magyars, looking at the country from the place of their first settlement, between the Danube and the Tisza, and taking as the dominant features the rivers which were so im-

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

flimsy mud-built houses. It is only recently that the work, not only of regulating the rivers against flood, but of irrigating the plains against drought, has been seriously undertaken. With modern methods an intensive cultivation, in particular of fruit trees, was begun. Through it some centres, such as Kecskemét, have achieved considerable prosperity.

THE BOUNDARY HILLS. The plain is bounded by hills. In the south the plain reaches right down to the frontiers of historic Hungary, and the first hills are those of Serbia. In the north, however, the Trianon frontier still left Hungary a certain amount of hilly country. This comes down close to the capital itself north of Budapest; indeed, the Danube runs here through what is almost a gorge, with the ruins of old castles overhanging it. East of Budapest the plain reaches further north, but there are still considerable hills, the summits of which are covered with beech forests and their lower slopes with vineyards. Here, too, are some noteworthy towns: Miskolcz and Diosgyör, centres of industry, and Eger, seat of an archbishopric, with the remains of an old Turkish fortress and a Turkish minaret still to be seen. Beyond this again comes another group of isolated hills, which produce the famous Tokaj wine, the richest and most powerful of all the Hungarian wines, of which it is said that it is 'the king of wines and the wine of kings'.

The mountains which enclose the Alföld on the east are those which form the boundary of Transylvania, a great table-land encircled north, east